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in borrowing or assuming to be indebted in the enactment of it. Then there is one other thing to be considered, the State Constitution. You all know and understand the process of doing that. The next Legislature within the first twenty days would convene, and the first thing they would do is to call a convention to take up the subject of the people. If the people vote for it at the next August election, then the succeeding Legislature, two years from the period of the first election, would convene and it would be the second time to the vote of the people. Then is ordered an election for the next August election, and the convention proceed to make the amendment. This is a slow process, you will perceive. You are lingering along with this discarded Constitution, and you are not making any advance to get rid of it, and yet, at the end of six or seven years of hard labor and an expense of \$150,000 or \$200,000 upon the people, you are still here, and have not made the emancipation of what remains of slavery among you. You arrive at it at last, and then you find that there are two modes of amending the Constitution. One mode is that the Federal Convention, two-thirds of the States calling a convention to amend, alter, or change the Federal Constitution, and then the States call a convention, Congress adopts a law calling for it. The convention enters upon its duties, and, when gone through with, the States ratify it. The States or Legislature, as Congress may direct; and when three-fourths of all the States shall have ratified, the same it shall be the law of the United States. The second mode is that the Convention shall call all intents and purposes," according to the language of the Constitution.

There is but one process arrived at the same conclusion, the emancipation of slaves. It has the same result at last, although the process is tedious and expensive. It is a slow process, and the proposed action of the people upon that subject.

There is, but one mode, and remaining the same, and that is the one now proposed by the people of the United States. It is for Congress to propose an amendment, and then to call a convention, to the Constitution, submit them either by the Legislature of the States or a convention, to be called by the State according to direction, and then the States ratify it. The Legislature by law, and when three-fourths of the States shall ratify it it shall become a

It is valid against the Constitution of this amendment, it is valid against the Constitution of the United States, because it is a law which is enacted to be used to enable to exercise or claim powers which say they have no right to exercise, and which Congress has denied them, and the people have no right to exercise. But shall we turn against our Constitution because some men claim to have a right to do so? you and I say, and the great body of the people say, that we ought to do, and yet the objections of these men would blot out the Constitution of the United States. I have no objection to any man upon such objections as these. But they are terribly frightened at what they say of negro equality. I have no uneasiness about negro equality. I have no doubt but I have grounds to believe that the negro can be equal with them; though I have no doubt but that he does all my life, I have never seen that thing. I have seen that it may be with them, and they have cause to be frightened, but the great body of the people are not frightened. I am not frightened upon that subject, because equality regulates our social relations and our course, not law, and until people believe in equality, no law can be made. I can never can take place. Law cannot do it, law cannot establish the social relations. They are upon terms of equality and friendship. I have no doubt but the law of the nature, I believe that the white man is the superior race. I have no doubt but that the negro is inferior to maintain his position. If he is not he will be it, run for my own people and against any other race whenever the interest of the white man and the negro are not. I have no sympathy for that fanatical sentiment which undertakes to depress our people and to make a race, none whatever; and no such principle can ever obtain in this country so long as the white race continue to go forward and increase as they have done through past ages.

This thing of social equality, I say, fellow-citizens, is nonsense, stuff, thrown out to deceive the people. I have no doubt but that you are willing to coerce a State?"

And—dog cry with which men used to call the passions of the people and made them run mad from their own prejudice and affections to their own ruin and the

tion that has been tearing up the South, and beneath  
 shade of which our children have been growing  
 to untimely graves, it is right and  
 proper, sir, that the National Government  
 should take the lead in the removal of  
 of the tree and new it down and cast  
 the fire. [Applause.]  
 There was another objection.  
 It came and appeal to the pride of  
 the South. They say to him, sir, do you  
 intend to vote away another man's property—  
 the property of the South?—the business of the  
 people in Kentucky have no interest in  
 property—neither present or prospective,  
 sir, never had any, and never will have,  
 because the property of the South is the  
 past political struggles, at the sacrifice  
 of their own individual and personal inter-  
 ests, they have manfully maintained the  
 Government and Constitution, and they  
 are in the hands of their neighbors. They  
 have sacrificed their own individual inter-  
 ests for the slave-owner in Kentucky.  
 They have sacrificed the property of the  
 South throughout the slave States. They have  
 been content to give up the rich and fertile  
 lands of the South, and they have been  
 to live, and they have retired with their  
 families to the narrow creek bottoms, the  
 fertile bridges to rear their families,  
 and have done so for generations.  
 He said to his manly pride and ask him  
 if you intend to vote away another man's  
 property, he said, "No, I do not wish to vote  
 away any property." But, fellow-citizens, answer  
 to this question, "What is the property of  
 the South?" and was a profit and benefit to  
 the South; while it did not seek to disrupt  
 the Government of the South, and was not made  
 an instrument to protect the property of  
 the people; while it did not menace  
 the Government of our fathers, and you  
 are ready to make any sacrifice, and you  
 intend to protect that interest. Now it is  
 changed. It was made to invade my secu-  
 rity. I say to you, fellow-citizens, my  
 neighbor, who has been compelled to  
 go far down South and fight in his  
 country, and now he sleeps in an  
 untimely grave upon the soil of the  
 South. I have lost him on account of your  
 Government. So you may go over the land,  
 and you may go over the land, and you  
 may go to the South, and you may go to the  
 States, Go to that cabin, and you may go

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river bottoms and the rich valleys, occupied by slaves. They have no chance of escape, and they are bound to the soil, just as the slave is bound to the soil. They must with the slave the right to till that soil. They move off to the West, and help people and make up the great West. They find Kentucky everywhere they go in the West. They have been exiled from their homes, excluded from coming in to the West, and now they are among our sons with us, and making active and industrious men, have raised them up to people the West, and to open up new fields of labor for our own children. I prefer to keep our own sons, and we may do it when we opened these fields of labor for them, and we may do it now, and we may do it, and when we have given them homes in Kentucky. And no more land will be reserved for slaves, but it will be kept for our own children. I do not think of these things, fellow-citizens, but they are facts which must be struck into the minds of our representatives.

Therefore, that every consideration of interest and policy requires that the people of Kentucky should elect men to the Legislature, who will support an amendment for the Constitutional Amendment. Do not let us be rid of the evils upon us, and then find the condition of things as you find it now. Do not let us be rid of the evils of the ruined and distracted condition of labor in the country? Can you give a better condition of labor than we have? Do not know that as long as you continue a system of slavery you cannot have a better system of labor? How can you have a better system of labor if the country an inefficient mass of labor by it? Before you can change it, you must have one of two things; either you must get rid of the system in its place, or obtain, as heretofore, a control over slave labor. Do you not know how to establish a slave labor in the country? Do you not know how to establish of free labor? I ask you, do you not know how to get rid of the system to adopt the sensible, easy, and practical system of free representation?

So, you have detained you too long upon this subject. It interests me because I have seen you in the past, and I have seen you a great many more growing out of it. I am continually struggling upon this subject, and I am continually struggling to see the millions of people being sold into slavery.

for others to help him, will seldom be refused. Our own shoulder must be under the wheel if we would remove the burden.

"You may hear one idea further, and I will concede: The Constitution provides that the public property is taken for public use. A just compensation shall be made, and some are who say that if we adopt the amendment it deprives us of all claim to compensation. But if we do not, and they take it, we will be entitled to ensnail. A candidate holding this view, to me, by way of argument, that I would be to come to the horse and press a horse, he would let him himself, and that would insure his safety. I mean that if we have no compensation would be thus enhanced simply and willingly furnishing the horse—thus attesting his active participation through the purchase of it, and let him be taken against his will the way to the pocket of the nation. I will like to see a candidate who knows what the policy of Mr. Lincoln. I do know what will be the policy of the Administration.

"The question of the Constitutional Amendment is the mode by which a door would be set up claim for compensation. Whether the mode of the Amendment by a Convention, would asprecede constitutional obligation to make compensation; but by adding the proposed amendment to all the States, the Constitution are left in full force, and unredressed. If, therefore, this be held to be the proper mode of the Amendment, the public use, it will hold a constitutional obligation for Congress for just compensation. I do not see how you ought to have it. I think you are in opinion that the Government of Kentucky ought to have a compensation. I hope that it will be if the Kentucky will not act the part of sensible men, but will be guilty of the same error after the rebellion is over and crushed, and for the kind attention you have to me.

"In this speech to the Detroit Convention of public principles, on Friday, Hon. Joseph P. Mallory, of Virginia, said that the importance as 'men who think in millions, whose daily transactions would sweep the island of a Greek Isle or a Russian island.'











